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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Immigration and the Future. By FRANCES KELLOR. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1920. Pp. 276.

The Federal Administration and the Alien. A Supplement to *Immigration and the Future.* By FRANCES KELLOR. New York: George H. Doran Co., 1921. Pp. 80.

These two books will be a disappointment to those who look to Miss Kellor for an authoritative discussion of our immigration problems. The present volumes are not only redundant, but they have apparently been so carelessly or so hastily written that they contain numerous inaccuracies. The second of the two volumes is a reprint of a series of articles that appeared in the *Public Ledger*.

Immigration and the Future is divided into three parts: Part I, "Immigration"; Part II, "American Business"; Part III, "Economic Assimilation." This last term is defined as follows: "Economic assimilation of immigration, then, is the application of the principles of recognition, reciprocity, and participation by native and foreign born in the day's work. It has for its objective the irrevocable integration of the immigrant into American life at every economic point" (p. 265).

In the chapter on "Immigration before the War" the historical survey of immigration is necessarily brief but unfortunately inaccurate. "Early immigration to America" is discussed, but no dates or other landmarks are given to indicate whether the writer is discussing the pre-Revolutionary period, the period between 1789 and 1820, the second or third quarter of the nineteenth century. Moreover, the account given is inexact in that it implies that the early state legislation was solely for the benefit of the immigrants. Thus, "America, then extended a welcome to them upon arrival. Whatever regulations were adopted were for the purpose of protecting the immigrant" (p. 31). As a matter of fact, these early laws were concerned first with the protection of our citizens and taxpayers and only secondarily with the protection of the immigrant. Great stress is laid by Miss Kellor upon the protective features of the New York statute of 1847 which created the State Emigration Commission, but there is a mass

of earlier state legislation relating to immigrants which provided in different states for head taxes and bonds to relieve the taxpayers of the burden of supporting destitute aliens; and even the statute of 1847, which provided for the Emigration Commission, contained in its first sections provisions for a bonding and commutation system for the protection of New York against immigrants who might become chargeable. Miss Kellor justly criticizes the federal legislation because it failed to make provision for protective work, but to picture the days of state legislation as a period when the immigrant was always welcomed and always received a helping hand is wide of the truth.

Some curious statements are also made in the account of immigration legislation after 1882. Thus, "In the belief that the law of 1882 had become inadequate, amendments were adopted in 1903, which again changed the policy of America. The negative policy of forgetting about the immigrant was supplemented by the more positive policy of restriction. . . ." (p. 38). This statement entirely overlooks the very important act of 1891, which not only added new categories of excluded classes but also for the first time provided not only for debarment and exclusion but added the system of deportation within one year after landing for certain classes. The account of the contract labor legislation is also misleading. America, we are told, following the discussion of the act of 1903, "proceeded to dig some economic trenches to protect itself from the immigrant. The first-line trench was the contract labor clause in the Immigration Law" (p. 38). The author, of course, knows that the "contract labor law" was first passed in 1885; and, in the text, the placing of this legislation nearly two decades later must be an error due to hasty composition.

Some minor errors may also be noted: Mr. Zmrhal is referred to as "High Commissioner of Rumania" (p. 192), whereas he was educational adviser temporarily in Czecho-Slovakia. State immigration commissions are mentioned (Supplement, p. 42) as having been established in New York and Massachusetts, but the state commissions of Illinois and California, the last named the most important of all, are overlooked. The International Labor Office is referred to (p. 81) as the International Workers' Bureau. The purpose of the International Emigration Commission of the Labor Office is incorrectly described (p. 81) as "created by international workers whose duty it is to regulate the emigration of workmen, etc."

But aside from these palpable inaccuracies the books are in no sense authoritative. The author is never willing to quote chapter and verse. Excerpts from documents are frequently quoted with the authority vaguely given as from "a recent report." Moreover, many statements like the following are found: "Another problem concerns passports. There is already, under the leadership of Lord Robert Cecil, a Passport and Postal Reform Committee" (p. 93). There is no clue given as to whether or not this is a British Parliamentary Committee, a Committee of the League of Nations, or a committee of something else.

Again, "the International Needle Workers have under consideration the establishment of a bureau to control the supply of needle workers throughout the world" (p. 80). But who are these "International Needle Workers"? No reference is given to indicate what organization is meant. Is it the abortive Needle Trades Workers Alliance, which was formed in New York late in 1920, or the "Secretariat International du Vêtement," with headquarters at Amsterdam, or some other international needle trades organization?

It is of interest that the presence of an official American representative at the sessions of the Emigration Commission of the International Labor Office was disapproved (Supplement, pp. 31 and 52), apparently because of the fact that the Labor Office is connected with the League of Nations; and even "the tolerance of a correspondent of the International Labor Office in Washington" (p. 54) is branded as one of our objectionable "international inconsistencies."

Both books, but especially the first one, might also be criticized because the language is incredibly confusing and careless. There are very many sentences of doubtful significance like the following: "This may be illustrated by the new regulations concerning disinfection which are enforceable abroad. These have unexpectedly cost so much additional money for subsistence, that after they have left their home country some immigrants have arrived in America without the required amount, and in consequence have not been permitted to land" (p. 93). Finally, it remains to be said that the proofreading is so inexplicably bad in both books that the reader is constantly and vexatiously interrupted by such expressions as: "Sixty per cent of all packing house employers [*sic*] are foreign born" (p. 158). "With the prevalence of strikes, and disorder, and employment [*sic*]" (p. 134). "A demoralization [*sic*] immigration administration" (Supplement, p. 17).

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